

THE
TORIES Unmask'd;
BY A
SURVEY
OF THE
Negotiations of PEACE,
THE
Rebellious Tumults in the Kingdom,
And the Intended
INVASION.

In a Letter to a Country Gentleman.

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S I R,

IN Your last to me of the Sixteenth of this Instant *July*, you take some Notice, with Concern, of the uneasiness of our Country-men in several Parts of the Kingdom; and desire me to send you a short State of our Affairs in Town, what Speculations the Subject of our Impeachments Occasion, and how the World in general acquiesce as to their Determinations on the Peace.

In compliance to your Desire I shall give you all the Account in my Power, and speak my Sentiments with usual Freedom and Impartiality: I believe you will concur with me in this, that the Names of *Whig* and *Tory* have too long been the Distinctions of Two opposite *Parties*; and I dare assure my self that, from the Scene of Affairs now open'd, they will appear to be Distinctions for Two opposite *Interests*:

You must be sensible, that from the Rebellious Commotions and Insolent Riots in several Places, the Construction of ill-dispos'd People has been, that the Enemies of Peace were preparing with Vigor for a new War; that for this Reason the Peace already made was to be canvass'd and censur'd; and in that sole View the Parties concerned in the Negotiations of it to be Prosecuted as Traytors to their Country.

Such injurious Insinuations, industriously blown about the Realm, have been design'd to disturb the Constitution, to make the Corporations uneasy with their Representatives, and force them to suspect that the Parliament was actuated by Rancour and Malevolence, falling into a Thousand arbitrary Measures only to tread upon a prostrate Faction, and indulging themselves in Processes by way of Reprisal on a Ministry that crush'd them while in their Power.

I cannot easily account for the Absurdity or Ill-nature of such Men, as can really suppose so August an Assembly as that of the House of Commons should be sway'd by Spleen and private Piques, and hunt after Blood to satisfy a Resentment. Nothing but invincible Ignorance or Inveteracy can be thought to propagate such a Supposition; the Gentlemen that represent
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the Body of the Nation, are such in their Proceedings more than in their Persons, and every Step they take is to advance the Dignity of the Crown, promote the publick Credit, and secure the Constitution, or they are no longer worthy of being intrusted in that Capacity.

If these then are the Duties of every single Member assembled in Parliament, I would fain ask any Man that will let his Conscience answer for him to a serious Question, whether when the Dignity of the Crown be abused, and the Prerogative make a Property of to mâle Designs, when the Credit of the Nation is betray'd and ruin'd, and the very Constitution undermin'd and struck at, this House may not fairly, without Imputation of Malice on their Parts, proceed to an Examination of the Methods used to effect these important Injuries, and having discover'd sinister Practices, call the Persons to answer their Treason against the Throne and Publick?

I remember, even before Impeachments were suspected, the Peace was justified by the *Tories* more from the State of things which, as they pretended, absolutely necessitated the making of it, than from the Consequences expected from it. It was alledged that the Nation had been burden'd by a tedious War, and its Men and Money almost

most exhausted; that the Motives for War were remov'd, and the Advantages of it accruing to the Allies exclusive of our selves; but it was never mention'd that we had broke thro' our *Barrier* Treaties, deserted our *Allies* even in the Face of Danger and Destruction, given up all Pretensions to the Spanish *West-Indies*, and what is still worse than all these together, given Breath to a treacherous old Monarch, who could ill have stood another Campaign, and is now preparing to Invade us for our Courtesy.

By these Aggravations, as well as a previous Knowledge of my Sentiments, you are convinc'd that I look upon the Peace unsound in it self, and purchas'd by Treachery. But that you may not suspect me of confiding in my own private Judgment, or being byass'd by Prejudice, I shall support my Opinion by laying before you some Transactions, brought to light by the Report of our faithful *Committee*, which Report at your Distance you have perhaps not met with.

You are to observe that the first Propositions of *France*, in 1711, sign'd by Monsieur *de Torcy*, do not express to whom they are directed, what previous Steps had been made on the Part of *France*, or what Encouragement had been given on the Part
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of *England*; but it appears by them, that from the beginning the Design of *France* was to secure *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to King *Philip*; to create Jealousies among the Allies; and that *France* offer'd to treat with *England* and *Holland* either by themselves or jointly with the rest of the Allies, which was left to the Choice of *England*. That these Propositions were transmitted to our Embassadour at the *Hague*, to be communicated to the *Pensionary* with Assurances to that Minister that the Queen was resolv'd in making Peace, as in making War, to act in perfect Concert with the *States*; and with as little Reserve as became Two States so nearly allied in Interest; and that this Rule on our Parts should be inviolably observ'd. That after this, Lord *Raby* sends over to our Secretary the reciprocal Assurances of *Holland* to Us to the same effect; that the *States* declare themselves weary of the War, and ready to join in any Measures, which her Majesty should think proper to obtain a good Peace; that they look upon the Propositions to be very dark and general, and hope her Majesty will make the *French* explain, more particularly, the several Points contain'd in them.

After these mutual Assurances between Us and the *States*, (a strong Confirmation
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that our Ministry were carried into Terms which the *Dutch* could not look upon as Propositions for a good Peace; there is not the least Communication to the *States* of the Negotiations that were carrying on, for above Five Months together, betwixt *England* and *France*, 'till the special Preliminaries were Sign'd, and the Seven general Propositions were concluded and sent to them: Nay, tho' my Lord *Raby* freely declar'd, he thought it necessary to go open with the *States* in the Matter of the Propositions; and tho' all the Hopes the *French* had was to sow Jealousies among the Allies.

But what signified the Opinion of a single Peer, and such an Opinion as he himself could without much difficulty depart from, on hearing that many new Intreagues were expected on the *Tapis*, a Conference with the *Ministers* at home expedient, and a Promotion in the *Peerage* which he had desir'd, design'd upon his Arrival? It is not to be doubted one of the Intreagues was the Measures concerted for a *separate* Peace; and it is one distinguishing Mark of its Goodness in being built on such Terms, that the solemn Assurances above-mention'd were dispens'd with as soon as made, and the Honour and

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Name of the Queen sacrificed to the private Views of her Ministers.

You are to observe further, that upon the Conference with Monsieur *Mesnager*, the Minister of *France* was instructed to treat of the Interest of the Allies, which the *English* Ministry would by no means consent to; And that by Monsieur *Torcy's* Proposals, *France*, offering to treat with *England* and *Holland*, either by themselves or jointly, conceived therein that *Holland* could not possibly be excluded from the Negotiation; but that the *English* Ministry being determin'd to carry on a separate Treaty with *France*, in their private Propositions an Express Article is inserted that the Secret should be inviolably kept, till allow'd to be divulg'd by the Consent of both Parties.

I think it cannot be deem'd improper in this Place to remind you, that the Steps taken in this whole Proceeding, and the secret Preliminaries signed on this Foot between *England* and *France*, were a manifest Violation of the Grand Alliance; in the Eighth Article whereof it is stipulated, *Neutri partium fas sit, Bello semel suscepto, de pace cum Hoste tractare, nisi conjunctim, & communicatis Consiliis cum altera parte*, That it should not be Lawful for either Party, the War being once begun, to treat of Peace with the Enemy but in Conjunction, and
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by Communication of Counsels on either Side.

I shall not trouble you with any Comment upon the Articles of Peace consented to by our Ministry, or how insignificant the Demands are that were made on the Part of *Great Britain*, but confine myself to taking notice of the unwarrantable and illegal Steps taken in transacting and concluding the Preliminaries, and of the Concurrence of the Ministers in privately meeting, conferring, and treating with the Ministers of *France*, till this separate Negotiation was brought to Maturity ; and by what Management they, under the Colour of the Queen's Authority, and the pretence of treating of a Peace, put it in the Power of *France* to divest the Queen of all her Allies, and gave the Enemy greater Advantages than they could any other way have hop'd for.

The Intelligence of the Queen's Counsels to the Ministers of the Enemy, during the Negotiation, carries in it room for Wonder, and more than a Suspicion of unfair Proceedings ; especially when Lord *Strafford* was sent to the *Hague* to press the opening the General Conferences, with Assurances of the greatest Friendship and Concern for the Interests of the States, on the Part of the Queen, and by her Authority to procure from *France* just Satisfaction for all her Allies :
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When his Instructions ran, that it must be the most careful Endeavour and fix'd Principle of all the Confederates to hold fast together : (and this immediately after a separate Treaty had been signed by us,) And if the Ministers of *Holland* should express any Uneasiness at their Apprehensions of any such private Agreement, he was order'd by evasive Answers to avoid giving them Satisfaction concerning it.

These are but a few of the Preliminary Steps taken towards the Prosecution of the Treaty ; but as Diseases in their first breaking out often discover Symptoms of their future Malignity, so I think these Measures from the beginning carry the Marks of black Suspicion and design'd Treachery. But I will pursue an Abstract of the Proceedings, and rather leave you to be a Judge of their *Fairness*, than arraign them in my own Person.

The *Dutch* being startled and alarm'd at our Measures, so contrary to our Assurances, send Monsieur *Buys* to interceed with her Majesty to alter her Resolutions ; but they were too far determin'd upon to be broke, the General Conference must be open'd by the States with us, or we will concert no Plan for the Prosecution of the War with them ; and Mr. *St. John* is order'd to declare, that her Majesty would look upon any

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Delay as a Refusal to comply with her Propositions. The *Dutch* comply, but repeat their Request of an Explication of *France's* Proposals; and Mr. *St. John* in a Letter tells Monsieur *Torcy*, these Explications will dissipate all Clouds; but assures him, if the King would offer a Plan of Specifick Preliminaries, the Queen will never communicate it to her Allies. What an inextricable Piece of Policy is this, we would have some Intimations at least of what was designed for the Allies, and yet never will communicate it to them, for whose Satisfaction only it is pretended all this Submission was made! However the Appointment for a General Conference proceeds, and our Ministry complain, that our Allies would not enter into the Queen's Measures, when they never were inform'd what the Queen's Measures were.

Not to launch out into too many Particularities, you may remember that in the Conferences held at *Utrecht*, many occasional Rubs retarded their Proceedings, nor were our Plenipotentiaries without their Uneasinesses. But to remove Obstructions on our Part Mr. *Harley* was sent over, who was fully instructed in all the Queen's Views and Desires. These Instructions of Mr. *Harley* do not appear; and it seems the Subject of them was not proper to be committed to Writing.

Writing. Notwithstanding after his Arrival the Negotiations were still at a stand, the *Dutch* could have no satisfactory Answer to their Demands, and our Lord Privy Seal was order'd to take the first solemn Opportunity of declaring to the *Dutch* Ministers, that all her Majesties Offers for adjusting our Differences were founded upon this express Condition, that they came immediately into the Queen's Measures, and acted openly and sincerely with her; and that she look'd upon herself, from their Conduct, now to be under no Obligation whatsoever to them. So that the Summary of this Proceeding appears to be no more than this, that a Congress for General Conferences was necessary to be open'd that the Allies might in Appearance, agreeable to the Grand Alliance, have the Opportunity of treating and adjusting their several Pretensions. Tho' in the mean time, the Negotiations were carrying on directly between *England* and *France*, or rather all the Conditions dictated and prescribed by *France*, whilst the Allies were amused with a Dispute about the Method of Answering from which *France* would not, and they could not possibly depart. During which Negotiations and the Disputes that had been industriously rais'd and kept on Foot, the Two great Points of the Renunciation of the *Spanish*

Spanish Monarchy, and of the Cessation of Arms, had been upon the Anvil.

It will not be needful for me to trace the Transactions, from time to time, in order to effect these Two important Articles : The Consequences of the Renunciation are not unknown to you, tho' they will rather be Matter of Speculation to future Times : And as to the Cessation of Arms I shall only take notice, that while it was obtaining in Private, the Duke of *Ormond* was order'd to repair first to the *Hague* and to see the Pensionary, before he put himself at the Head of the Troops ; to express to him the Queen's Resolution of pressing the War with all possible Vigour ; to assure him he is prepar'd to live in a perfect good Correspondence with all the Generals, and particularly with those of the States ; to inform himself of what Plan had been agreed for the Operation of the Campaign ; and as soon as he arriv'd at the Frontiers, to meet with Prince *Eugene*, and such of the Generals as should be in the Secret, and with them to concert the proper Measures for entring upon Action.

It remains to see whether the Declarations necessarily made by our Captain General in pursuance of these Instructions, were pursued with any Sincerity or open Regard to their Tenour and Import : The Instructions bear date on the Twelfth of *April*, 1712. and on the
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the Tenth of *May* following he has Orders sent him by Mr. *St. John* to avoid engaging in any Siege, or hazarding a Battel till further Order: And he is directed to disguise the Receipt of this Order. That her Majesty thinks he cannot want Pretences for conducting himself so as to Answer her Ends, without owning That, which at that time might have an ill Effect if it were publickly known. Soon after Prince *Eugene* and the States propos'd to attack the Enemy, or, if that were found too hazardous, to besiege *Quesnoy*, the Duke had his Fears that it would be very difficult for him to disguise the true Reason of his opposing all Proposals that should be made for undertaking any thing, he having no Excuse for Delays, the *German* Troops being arriv'd, and the heavy Cannon brought up; and therefore solicited for Directions from *England*. Our Quarter Masters General having view'd the *French* Camp, and reporting them to lie in such a Situation as gave us an Opportunity of falling upon their Flank and Rear, it was propos'd to the Duke of *Ormond* to March without the least Delay to the Enemy, and to attack them. The best Excuse, for refusing which, that his Grace could make, was Lord *Strafford's* sudden Voyage to *England*, which gave him reason to believe there must be something of Consequence transacting, which

a Delay of Four or Six Days would bring to Light, and therefore he desir'd they would defer this Undertaking, or any other, until he should receive fresh Letters from *England*. The Opportunity that was here lost to the Common Cause, and the Advantage that was secur'd to the Common Enemy by it, caused ill Blood and Dissatisfaction among the Allies, who did not stick to say we were betraying them. In a short time after, upon an Agreement of *France* to surrender *Dunkirk* into our Hands, as soon as the Duke of *Ormond* heard the Governor of that Place had Orders to evacuate it and admit the Queen's Troops; his Grace was, without losing a Moment, if he had not already done it, to declare a Suspension of Arms; and to withdraw all the *English* Troops, and such others as would obey his Orders. On the Sixteenth of *July* the Marshal *Villars* acquainted his Grace, that the Governor was making the necessary Preparations to evacuate that Place, and upon this the Duke, the Day after, order'd a Cessation of Arms to be proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet. It is observable here, the great Concern we had for our Allies in this Conduct; for had all the Foreigners in the Queen's Pay, that compos'd the Duke of *Ormond*'s Army, separated and withdraw'd from the rest of the Allies, from that instant Prince *Eugene*'s whole

whole Army, unless they submitted to the same Measures, had been left at the Mercy of the *French* Army to be cut in Pieces, or made Prisoners at the Will of *Mareschal Villars*.

You will easily pardon me for having been so particular as to the Cessation, since the taking that pernicious Step was the first real Assurance of a Peace, in the making whereof all the Measures were concerted in the same Clandestine Manner ; and since it is evident that the Cessation was of infinite Advantage and absolutely necessary to the Affairs of *France*, and therefore insisted on by *France* ; it is as certain that our Ministry gave early into it, as if, combin'd to advance the Interest of the Queen's Enemies, it behov'd them to be Zealous in a Point which contributed more to those Views, than any one Occurrence during the whole Negotiation. But the Artifice to conceal this unprecedented Treachery, was a Condition annex'd to it for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*. The Surrendry and Destruction of this Important Place was design'd to strike the Imaginations of the People : And this Step they thought, well improv'd, would recommend the Peace itself, at least justify the Cessation : And therefore to obtain this, they engage not only to grant a Cessation of Arms, but to conclude a separate Peace.

The great Step of the Cessation was no sooner taken, but Monsieur *de Torcy* calls upon Mr. *St. John* to perform his Promise of concluding a Peace between *France* and *England* in a few Weeks, sends Proposals from *France* which are very readily assented to; and then comes to light the Concern of the *British* Ministers for the Duke of *Savoy*, who is represented as the *Ally*; whose Interest the Queen hath most at Heart; the Kingdom of *Sicily* is therefore demanded for him, tho' the *French* had actually offer'd it to the Emperor: And he was to be guaranteed and protected against any Power that should oppose this Project, or should insult him for having accepted these Offers. And it is here worthy of Notice, that as forward as the Ministry were in offering to make *England* Guarantee for Conditions advantageous only to *France*, during the whole Course of this Negotiation, there were no Endeavors used to procure a Guarantee of our Confederates to secure the Protestant Succession, nor was the King of *Sicily*, for whom so much was done, ever requested to be Guarantee for the said Succession.

The Consequences of the Suspension of Arms and separation of our Troops from the *Allies*, were soon visible in their Defeat at *Denain*, where Lord *Albermarle's* Camp was forc'd, himself taken Prisoner, and all the
Troops

Troops under his Command entirely defeated; and *Torcy* and *Villars* report this Victory to our Secretary and General with an Air of Triumph, ascribe it to the separation of the brave *English*, and insult the Allies as common Enemies, that must now be sensible what wrong Measures they had taken. And you must remember, that the next stroke of Art which our Ministry gave, the more to oppress the Allies and force them to disadvantageous Terms, was the Duke of *Ormond*'s having Possession of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, with Orders to be upon his Guard and secure those Posts; altho' all that had been hitherto declar'd was a suspension of Arms, and that our Troops were to act no longer against *France*.

Torcy soon seconded his Importunities for concluding the separate Peace between *England* and *France*, as what they both agreed in to be the most effectual Means to make the rest of the *Allies* comply: The *French* King consents to the Duke of *Savoy*'s having *Sicily* upon certain Conditions, wherein ample Provision was made for Satisfaction to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and a Peace to be concluded between *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Savoy*. And is it not remarkable, that while these great Points were transacting and carrying on directly betwixt *France* and *England*, very little Material pass'd at *Utrecht*, some

few Passages only concerning Communications as were thought necessary to be made to keep up the Form of a Negotiation ?

Upon these Proceedings, the next thing we heard was of the general Dissatisfaction of the *Allies*, and the inexpressible Consternation they were all in ; that they represented our Proceedings as the unavoidable Ruin of *Europe* ; and Religion, Liberty, and the Faith of Treaties, are urg'd to shew the Enormity of our Usage. But what cannot Policy perform ? Mr. *St. John* writes to the Lord *Privy-Seal*, and instructs him to lay the entire Blame of all that had happen'd, upon the *Dutch* ; and that the want of Concert was only to be imputed to those who were at the Head of the Affairs in *Holland* : However that her Majesty was still ready to forget all that was past, and join with them in the strictest Terms of Amity and Confidence ; tho' Mr. *St. John* Four Days before, had promis'd *Torcy* in the Queen's Name to conclude a separate Peace with *France*, on Condition *Dunkirk* was deliver'd to the *English*.

The Respect our Ministry had for our *Allies*, I believe, is no Mystery to you from the Transactions in Relation to *Tournay* ; the *French* Ministers insisted on the Restitution of this Place, which our *British* Plenipotentiaries conceiv'd to be inconsistent with what the Queen had declared : But
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Lord *Bolingbroke* instead of taking Measures for preserving this Town as part of the Barrier of the *States-General*, propos'd Expedients whereby it might be restor'd to *France*, without the Queen's becoming a Party to a Thing which was contradictory to what she had once advanc'd, and gave his Advice to Monsieur *de Torcy* by what Management it might be secur'd to the King of *France*.

I think I have been sufficiently large in this Abstract of the Steps taken towards the Peace, in shewing that a separate one was our immediate View, that we only speciously open'd a Conference with our *Allies*, and that the Transactions were privately negotiated between our Court and that of *France*; and I am greatly mistaken if they are not a Proof that the Ministry had very little at Heart the Honour of their Country, or how far they involv'd her in the Infamy of breaking solemn Treaties and deserting her *Allies*: If they consider'd her in any peculiar Advantages, perhaps they would be more easily pardon'd by some whose Notions of Honour do not rise to too much Delicacy, but always submit to Regards of Interest: Whether they did any thing for us on this Head must be consider'd on the Foot of our *Commerce*.

When the Priviledges of taking and drying Fish upon the Coast of *Newfoundland*,
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and other Articles of that Nature came under Debate, my Lord *Bolingbroke* confesses he was strangely surpriz'd to see the Precedent of the *Ryswick* Treaty quoted, to persuade us to refer our Commerce, as the *Dutch* then did theirs, to Commissioners, to be treated of after signing the Peace ; he was of the Opinion the Behavior of the *French* upon that Occasion gave us warning, and taught us, that whatever is referr'd, is given up : But it seems on the Twenty Fourth of *May*, 1712. that his Lordship had either not learnt or entirely forgot that Lesson, when he himself propos'd that several Points relating to Commerce, requiring a longer Discussion than that Crisis would admit, Commissioners should be appointed to settle and adjust the Differences. Now what is this but an implicit Contradiction of the Man from himself ; and that he either acted with much Negligence, or little Integrity ? Whether his Conduct must be call'd in Question on the latter Head, is to be determin'd from the Consequences : All Points in Dispute in *North America* and the Fishery of *Newfoundland* were given up ; upon the single Consideration of the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Commerce, which the Parliament rejected with a just Indignation. It would be too tedious to trouble you with a Detail of the canvassing these Points, or an Account of the
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many Letters that pass'd between our *Treasurer, Secretary*, and *Mr. Prior*, for adjusting them in spite of Difficulties ; but it seems a very extraordinary Proceeding that the *Queen's Ministers in France*, acting by her Authority, and under her Instructions, should apply to my Lord Treasurer, for his distinct and positive Orders to release them from the *Queen's Instructions* ; because they are thought by the *French Ministers* to be too strict : And if it be a Doubt, by whose Order or Advice it was procur'd, so much is certain, that these Applications had their desir'd Effect ; and the *Newfoundland Fishery* was given up ; and the Advantage we were to receive from being treated upon the Foot of *Gens amicitissima*, were all buried in that destructive Article, the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Commerce.

I am too little of a Politician, nor do I look upon it greatly to my Purpose, to enter on every Branch of our Commerce, or shew in what Parts our Trade has principally been injur'd by this Treaty : All my Aim in this Disquisition was to bring Vouchers for my Opinion, as, that the Peace was neither Safe nor Honourable ; and if the Proofs already brought are not sufficient, it will be one strong Conviction of it, that it is almost entirely contrary to such a Peace as her Majesty was pleas'd to declare from the Throne

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she was procuring for her own Realms and her *Allies*. You that have read her Speech must remember that, in her first Intimations of it in Parliament, she takes Notice, that notwithstanding the Arts of those who delight in War, both Place and Time were appointed for opening the Treaty of a general Peace. That her *Allies*, especially the *States-General*, whose Interest she look'd upon as inseparable from her own, had, by their ready Concurrence, express'd their Confidence in her: That the *Princes* and *States* which had been engag'd with us in that War, being by Treaties entitl'd to have their several Interests secur'd at a Peace, she would not only do her utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable Satisfaction, but she would also unite with them in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general Peace secure and lasting. You know too that in her frequent Messages afterwards to her Parliament, she express'd the Care she intended to take of all her *Allies*, and the strict Union in which she propos'd to join with them. That she told the Houses, her Plenipotentiaries had begun, in pursuance of their Instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just Satisfaction to all in Alliance with her, according to their Treatises, and particularly with Relation to *Spain* and
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the *Indies*. And afterwards, that she should be sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover *Spain* and the *Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*. That the World would see how groundless these Reports were, which had been spread Abroad by Men of evil Intentions, to serve the worst Designs, as if a separate Peace had been treated, for which there had not been the least Colour given. That she had not omitted any thing which might procure to all her Allies what was due to them by Treaties, and what was necessary for their Security. And that nothing had mov'd her from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true Interest of her own Kingdoms.

● What Gracious Assurances are here from a Sovereign? And how full of the Concern for her Country's Interest, and her Confederates Safety? Who could be in Love with War, who was promis'd such winning Invitations to Peace? But what can we think, if a designing Ministry took care to falsify all these Declarations, pursued the Treaty upon a Foot directly opposite to their Tenour, and sacrific'd the Honour of their Queen, the Interest of their Country, and the Security of their Allies, to private and illegal Ends? You are convinc'd from Facts, that the *States* in the

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strongest Manner represented against the Propositions sign'd by *Mesnager*, as too general and uncertain, not being a sufficient Foundation upon which a Negotiation might be hazarded; at the time when the Queen thought the *States* had readily concurr'd with her: That tho' *France* in the first Propositions sent over by Monsieur *Torcy*, had offer'd to treat with *England* and *Holland*, either separately or jointly, with the rest of the Allies, at the Choice of *England*, the Queen's Ministers excluded the Allies; tho' her Majesty's own Resolution was to unite with the Allies in the strictest Engagements: That *Spain* and the *West Indies* were given up; tho' the Queen's Plenipotentiaries were oblig'd by their Instructions to insist, that neither of them should be allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*: That a separate Negotiation was carried on between *England* and *France* by Papers sent backward and forward, and Orders not only to treat, but to conclude a separate Peace with *France*; when her Majesty was advis'd to declare, that to Report that a separate Peace had been treated, proceeded from evil Intentions, and to serve the worst Ends: That our Plenipotentiaries were told they might openly join with those of *France*, and give Law to them who would not submit to just

just and reasonable Conditions; tho' the Queen declared she had not omitted any thing which might procure to all her Allies what was due to them by Treaties and necessary to their Security: And that Commissaries were appointed to settle, after the Peace, such Points relating to Trade as requir'd a longer Discussion than the *Crisis* of the Negotiation would admit; tho' her Majesty had so expressly declar'd, that nothing had moved her from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true Interest of her own Kingdoms; and tho' my Lord *Bolingbroke* had declared, as I have before taken Notice, that whatever was referr'd, was given up.

I think I have now gone thro' the principal Transactions of a Peace, which was treated and concluded by a *Tory* Ministry, and is approv'd and justified by a *Tory* Faction. They insist upon it to be Honorable and Advantageous; and the *Whigs* as vigorously assert it to be Scandalous, and Injurious. Here are two contrary Assertions, and as the Case stands, *Utri creditis, Populares?* Whose Asseveration are our Country-men to believe?

● Indeed the *Tories* make no small Outcry to have themselves thought Friends to the Church and establish'd Constitution; and as the *Whigs* are their Opposites in Par-

ty and Principles, they are represented as *Republicans* and *Antimonarchical*, as Persons that would overturn the State and Kingdom, and introduce Schemes for changing the Government into a Commonwealth. But what if upon a Concurrence of Circumstances there should be room for no small Suspicions, that the Persons concern'd in the Negotiations of the Peace had Views themselves of undermining the Church; were working to the Prejudice of the Protestant Interest, and labouring to bring in a Popish Successor? What then can be said for our Non-resisting Patriots, that seem to stand up for the Rights of Religion and the Crown, and yet would sacrifice the first to the *See of Rome*, and give up the Liberty and Property of the Subject to a *French* and Tyrannick Power?

But now I have started this bold Supposition, I suppose you will expect me to second my Doubts with some shew of Reason: And I shall attempt this with the Observation of several Passages, which are a plain Indication of the Tendernefs and Regard, with which the Cause and Person of the Pretender were treated. That the Court of *Rome* being perswaded, if the Peace should be made, *England* would not suffer that the King of *France* should permit the Pretender to continue in his Realms,
and

and therefore offer'd to give him an *Azy- lum* at *Rome*, or in any other Part of the Ecclesiastick Dominions, is not to be wonder'd; but that the Bishop of *Bristol* should tell Lord *Bolingbroke* that Monsieur *Confsbruck* took it for granted, that one great End of all the Management on our part was to bring in the Pretender, is a Circumstance, I think, of no small Weight. And when such Strefs and Weight was laid upon the Removal of the Pretender out of the Dominions of *France*, that he should be permitted to reside in *Lorain*, was not only a great Surprize to all the Nation, but was receiv'd with such just Indignation, that the Parliament address'd the Queen upon this Occasion: And yet it appears that his residing in *Lorain* was not only with the Approbation, but even by the Direction and Appointment of the English Ministry. Nay, when these Addresses were made by the Parliament upon that Subject in *July* 1713, the first Letter that Lord *Bolingbroke* wrote in pursuance of those Addresses, was the sixth of *November* which was Four Months after the Addresses were presented to the Queen.

I cannot help referring you to one Circumstance in that Affair, whereby some Judgment may be formed of our Ministry's Inclination; when Instances were repeated
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to the Duke of *Lorain* by her Majesty, for removing of the Pretender to her Crown out of his Dominions; when it was represented to the *Minister* of that Court, that it was absolutely inconsistent with the Amity and good Correspondance that was between the Queen and his Master to receive into his Dominions, or to protect a Person who disputed her Majesty's most undoubted Title, and thereby endeavour'd to disturb the Peace and Quiet of her Kingdoms; and when he was still retain'd and countenanc'd by that Prince which occasion'd in our House of Lords a becoming Resentment, that the Duke of *Lorain* should presume to receive and entertain the Pretender to her Majesty's Crown, in Defiance to her Majesty's Application to the contrary: Yet still as regardless of the Indignation of the Parliament and the Collective Sense of the Nation, Lord *Bolingbroke* in a Letter to Mr. *Prior* at *France*, recommends the Interest of the Duke of *Lorain* to his Care; and tells him he was enough appriz'd of that Princes Wants, of his Expectations, and of her Majesty's earnest Desire, if by any Means she could, to contribute to the Ease and to the Advantage of a Prince, who deserv'd much better Usage than he had on many Occasions met with.

What

- What favourable Constructions can we reasonably put upon such double Management; or how avoid suspecting Treachery, when a Ministry by clandestine Proceedings run Counter to the Declarations and Instructions of their Prince? I must freely avow to you, that tho' I cannot drive up my Suspicions to any certain Head, I am fully satisfyed there was a Snake in the Grass.

It is evident, from many Circumstances in the Negotiation, that Abbot *Gualtier* was the Person intrusted to manage the Affairs of the Pretender, with whom such Practices were verbally to be transacted, as our Ministry did not think proper to commit to Writing. That the Place to which he was to go, because no body would receive him at the hazard of the Queen's Displeasure, and where he might remain in Safety, was to be prescrib'd from *England*. And that this was not fix'd and determin'd, 'till Lord *Bolingbroke* went into *France*.

I shall trouble you but with one more Circumstance on this Head, and that is a flagrant one, to prove the Ministry had some Views more than the Nation was appriz'd of, or could suspect. In the Memorial which Monsieur *de Torcy* delivered to Lord *Bolingbroke* at *Paris* touching the
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Demolition of *Dunkirk*, (the retarding of which, you may remember, gave us no small uneasiness;) there is this intricate Paragraph. *It may perhaps come to pass in the Course of this Affair*, for Reasons easily to be foreseen, *that England shall repent having demanded the Demolition of a Place, and the Destruction of an Harbour, which might be of great use in Conjunctions*, which *perhaps* are not very Remote. I would not be thought to take upon me to explain what Conjunctions *France* had in View, and which they thought not very remote, when *Dunkirk* might be of particular Service; but you will give me leave to observe, that an Inference is very obvious from it. For you know, that the Pretender did immediately upon the Demise of the *Queen*, publish a Declaration, which the Duke of *Lorain* has acknowledged in his Letter of the sixth of *December 1714*, that he receiv'd from the Pretender himself, wherein is this remarkable Passage: Yet contrary to our Expectations, upon the Death of the Princess our Sister, (of whose good Intentions towards us, we could not for some time past well doubt; and this was the Reason we then sat still, expecting the good Effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable Death) we found
that

that our People instead of taking this favourable Opportunity of retrieving the Honour and true Interest of their Country, by doing us and themselves Justice, had immediately proclaim'd for their King a foreign Prince, to our Prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and incontestible Laws of Hereditary Right, which their pretended Acts of Settlement can never abrogate.

Pray, what Sense shall be put upon these Words? The Declaration, we find, asserted to be Genuine by a Prince to whom it was deliver'd; and shall we conclude the Substance of it to be fictitious? Did the Pretender only Dream some Measures were taken in his favour? Or did he declare it, and not believe it? And resolv'd to be reveng'd of a Ministry that would not come into his Interest, by impeaching them of really doing it, and laying them open to the Resentments of the Government?

What however can be said to People that have their Eyes, and will not see with them; that either thro' Obstinacy, or some more pernicious Cause, are resolv'd not to be convinc'd upon the strongest Demonstrations?

The Riots, the Tumults, and Insurrections, that have been committed and set on Foot by the *Tory* Faction, are a sufficient

cient Demonstration that the Protestant Succession in the Line of *Hanover* is not to their Minds: Why are so many Meeting-Houses pull'd down? And why the Toleration Act Invaded? Has not the King declar'd, he will stand up for the Rights of the Church, as by Law Establish'd? Has our Religion been represented in any Danger? Is Presbytery making any Encroachments on the Church, or any Branch of our Orthodox Discipline lopp'd off? Indeed our Clergy are restrain'd in their Sermons from turning Politicians; they are to stick to Divinity, and not descant on Schemes of Government; to teach their Congregations their Duty and preach up Obedience, not inflame them against their Rulers. The Motive of such Riots then is not to assert the Cause of the Church, but fly in the Face of the King and Government. And what is the Result of such Indignities, but to declare themselves in Rebellion against the Succession, and Advocates for Popery and a spurious Pretension?

I doubt not but if you were to be an Inhabitant of this Town, you would be more shock'd at the Insults offer'd to the Throne by Libels and Satyrs, than you can be startled at an Insurrection, which is immediately quell'd at the Appearance of being Resisted.

What

What can we think of having Sarcastical Observations on a Monarch's Speech ; of having Diseases, Fires, and Eclipses interpreted as Judgments on his Reign ; of having himself, and the whole Royal Family traduc'd and ridicul'd ; of having *Cato's* Ghost, and *Pasquin* to a *Statue*, handed about, and applauded by an Inveterate Faction ? Of having a Pretender's Health, drunk as a Lawful Sovereign ; and Clubs and Assemblies held with a sort of Religion to assert his Right, and revile the Succession establish'd by Parliament ? And yet all these Indignities are offer'd by such as are Partisans to those who stile themselves *Tories*.

I remember upon the Rumors of the Insurrection at *Manchester*, and that it was confirm'd those Rebels grew numerous and outrageous ; these dark Politicians would get together in Clusters, and dictate to one another with Airs of Satisfaction, that the discontented Parties in the Country grew so strong, that it was thought the King's Forces would not be able to suppress them ; that we should see the Neighbouring Counties rise, and joyn one another, and then they must carry all before them.

I would fain know, whence these Satisfaction could arise ? It must be from some particular and suspected Motive of the Tumults ;

or else every body must naturally be startled at a Rabble in Arms, whose brutal Views are Plunder and Devastation. But it is too plain to need a Question, that the *Tories* hop'd, if not knew, that these Risings were design'd to promote the Interest of their Pageant Idol; that it was the declar'd Sentiment of the Party, Now was the Time for him to Land; the whole Kingdom was ripe and ready for his Reception; and that if *his Grace* would but declare himself for bringing him in, he would be back'd by a Force of an Hundred Thousand in Three Days.

It is a Matter indeed of no small Amazement to find Treason so rise in a Country, so well regulated by wholesom Laws: To find a Government insulted with as little Reserve, as if the Hands of the Magistracy were tyed up, and Statutes were only made to be read and scan'd upon: As if no Provision was made for Punishments, or they durst not put that Provision in Execution.

You desired me to give you some Account on the Head of our Impeachments, but there is nothing New on that Subject, but what must have reach'd your Parts sometime since.

There is but one thing more remains, of which you desired me to give you
Intel-

Intelligence ; and that is in Relation to the intended Invasion. You cannot expect me to surprize you with any particulars on this Head, as it is but a Matter yet in *Embrio*. That it is intended, is past being a Question ; but we have good Reasons to Hope, that as our Intelligence has been early, and our Preparations to receive them in unexpected Forwardness, should they carry their Intentions into Action, they will only balk their Abettors *Abroad*, and betray their conceal'd Friends here *at Home*.

When the Discovery of this Design first broke out, the Faction was not a little Diligent to animate one another, to persuade that the Descent was actually made, and they were marching from *Scotland* with a numerous Army ; when this Hope cool'd by a positive Contradiction, it was surmis'd that they were landed in the *West* ; then a fresh Rumour ran, that the D—— had seized upon the Fort of *Portsmouth*, and that the *Pretender* with his Forces lay at *Mardyke*. But the Disappointment of their Intelligence has now caused them to turn their Tables. They would insinuate, that there was no Colour for suspecting an Invasion ; and tho' the King from the Throne declar'd what certain

certain Advices he had of their Design and Preparation, yet that this was but a Court-Artifice to strengthen the Hands of the Ministry, and give the King a Standing Army. Absurd and Insolent Insinuation!

I believe it must be allow'd, that we can more than guess at the Merits of the Peace, and the Sincerity of the *French* Monarch: It requires no long Reach or Depth of Capacity, to Divine for what Reason, at this Juncture, he disbands such Numbers of his Troops. Soldiers unemploy'd must have a Provision, and they cannot do better to that end, than get Listed in the first Service that will entertain them. To have lent the *Pretender* Forces in his Pay, had been an open Breach of the Peace on his Side, and he has too much Honour, all *Europe* knows, to be caught in such a palpable Device. It is better to proceed by Mental Reservation and *Romish* Policy: Can he have any Designs of War, and disband his Forces? If other People pick them up to our Prejudice, can he prevent it? Is he the Aggressor? *Sic notus Ulysses?*

I cannot help concluding without this Remark upon our Affairs in general, that
We

we are an ungrateful, and dissatisfied People; ever fond of Revolutions, and sick of the Choice we made the Object of our Wishes.

There is no Nation, seemingly, under the Sun more apt to kindle when they think the Church is in Danger, than ours; tho' their Practises start wide from the Principle of the Religion they would be thought to profess: They set up for Protestants in the strictest Regard, and yet forfeit their Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign in espousing the Interest of a Popish Successor. I profess, I cannot apprehend what their Madness would drive at; Were there a possibility of that pretended Claim's taking Place, how could it secure either their Religion, or Property? Is it not inconsistent for a People to hope for Liberty under a Prince, who must be introduc'd and supported here by a foreign Power? Can their Religion be safe under one who has been bred up from his Infancy in the Doctrine and Tenets of the *Romish* Church, which accounts every thing meritorious that crushes and extirpates what they call *Heresy*? But People that can swallow such Absurdities, deserve not an Argument to set them Right: They are
wrap'd

wrap'd up in a Cloud of Error, and will not suffer Truth or Reason, to shine thro' it: which makes me conclude with Mr. Dryden, that

*There is a Pleasure sure in being Mad,
Which none but Mad-men know; —*

With sincere Wishes for your Health and Prosperity, I rest,

Sir,

Your very Humble

Servant, &c.

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F I N I S.



